1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

614 616 with paternal descent. Of these, maam and vaaf belong to the Buzzard moiety, aapap and apki to the Coyote. A recently added sib, called okori, seems to be a catchall to take care of people whose affiliation is lost and varies as to moiety. The sib of an informant was recorded where known, but it seemed to have little to do with ceremonial functioning.

621 The important unit in ceremonial life, as in economic life, was the village. Each dialect group comprised some four or five of these, each with its cluster of offshoots and its hill camps, for use in the dry season.[2] Isolated in their separate valleys, these "village units" did not necessarily co-operate even for war. Each had its own set of hereditary officers, its local fetish, and its version of the ceremonies. Each was suspicious of its neighbors, particularly those of another dialect division. When they met for intervillage games, they prefaced the contest with a ceremony of challenge, indicative of the hostility that was inwardly felt. Had each of these units been given a separate grant of land, as was done for the Pueblos, we can imagine that they might have developed differences comparable to those of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa.

791 A thorough study of these regional differences might cast some light on population movements in Papago and Pima country during the restless millennium before the coming of the whites. Very different influences have been operative there, for some ceremonies reflect the needs of an organized, agricultural people, some those of hunters and individualists. However the ceremonies arose, Papago culture has turned them all to one purpose—rain. War, puberty, curing, even the gathering of salt, were not crowned with success unless they brought this one supreme boon to a desert people.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

793 As a preface to Papago religious beliefs, it may be well to outline the origin myth. This myth does not form a consistent basis for the ceremonies as do, for instance, the Navaho hero narratives. In some respects, indeed, the rituals draw close to it, and the songs and speeches are said to have been used when the need for super-

[2] *Ibid.*

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

or three times. After the men's race there might be a woman's game of double ball and a woman's race.

The parties to the meet were not single villages, but village units consisting of a parent village with all its daughters and its "wells." Two such units might have a standing contest which carried on for years, each challenging alternately. But occasionally several units joined together to challenge another group: two whole dialect divisions might find themselves arrayed on opposite sides, or one division against the Pima.

Plans were made at the beginning of the summer, when the people assembled at the "field" village before they separated. Then, if there were no regular contest in progress, the runners or their families suggested to the game leader that they felt ready for a meet. The game leader presented the matter to the village council, who, perhaps, tested the runners to make up their minds and then decided whom they would challenge and what the race should be. Then the game leader paid a formal call on the game leader of the opposite side to convey the challenge and settle details.

The runners practiced all summer under the supervision of the game leader or some trainer chosen by him. There was no pay for such work, since the trainer was helping to win for his village and would share in its betting gains. The village elders, all of whom were vitally interested in the outcome, frequently advised and encouraged the runners.

THE SKIPPING DANCE

Beside training its athletes, the village prepared a musical performance to be presented to its opponents. Of these performances, the most elaborate was the skipping dance (*tcĭrkona*). The word means a motion exactly like that of children skipping along a sidewalk. But the performance was not merely a dance; it was a rudimentary form of opera. Some singer dreamed a series of songs, referring to a visionary experience of his own. Then he trained a number of girls and boys to perform dance evolutions, carrying effigies which referred to his dream. Records tell of singers who were famous for wind songs, ocean songs, cloud songs, crane songs.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

early December. Only a few went on to Quitovaca, which has a much smaller festival every August. The two ceremonies are so different as to need separate descriptions.

THE WINTER CEREMONY[3]

The San Xavier calendar stick, which records the important events among the northern villages for the last eighty years, has, regularly every four years, a blue dot to represent the prayer-stick festival at Archie. It was discontinued after 1912, but revived in 1932, and now the Archie people plan to continue it regularly. It is, as has been mentioned, a co-operative effort on the part of Archie and her daughter villages and serves as a general reunion, when every family of Archie stock returns to camp around the mother village and shares in the general blessing.

The villages of this common family are those which occupy one of the typical north and south valleys of Papagueria, extending in this case from Archie on the north to Big Fields on the south. Archie is the oldest settlement and almost contiguous with it is its daughter Santa Rosa, divided into two sections known as the Burnt Seeds and Palo Verde Standing. The other offspring are scattered down the valley, the most important being the ancient town first called Mesquite Root, then Iron Pump and now deserted for Big Fields, where its farms are.

Archie, Santa Rosa, and Iron Pump always join for the prayer-stick festival. With them is the neighbor village Akchin, more distantly related and with offshoots in another valley. Finally they admitted a comparatively new settlement, belonging to people of another dialect who had moved near them. This was Anegam, (place of the willows). These towns co-operate and sing against each other as do *kivas* and moieties in localities of a different organization. All their offshoots and "relatives" come to the ceremony and camp nearby, each identifying itself, for the singing, with its mother village.[4]

[3] Briefly described in Mason, 20.

[4] In the account of the prayer-stick festival for 1932, one informant substituted Palo Verde Standing for Iron Pump, claiming that the latter has now almost no inhabitants. It is former Iron Pump people who live at Palo Verde.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

either in goods or services, now or later. So one turned to any relative at hand. The Melanesian, walking across an island to carry a ceremonial gift to his sister, would be incomprehensible to a Papago. In the practical scheme of the Desert People, a sister received gifts when she was present, none when she was absent.

The geographic grouping of relatives depended on land. The desert country contained innumerable small patches, near the mouths of washes, where flood agriculture was possible. Each family must have such a patch where it could plant in the summer, migrating in the winter to the mountain springs. But the patches within walking distance of any village finally became exhausted and then one of the younger men would decide to move. It was unthinkable that he should go alone to his new home, both because of the fear of enemies and because neighborly help was a constant necessity. So he looked for others who needed land and, of course, he looked among his relatives. The records show no examples of unrelated people joining in such a move. But, given the passport of relationship, circumstances might bring together kin of almost any degree. The five new settlements recorded, show the following relatives each with his immediate family.

Appendix I. 3 Ego
Ego's full sister and two half sisters, all married to the same man.
Two other full sisters.
Ego's mother

I. 4 Ego
Two nephews
Three classificatory paternal uncles
Five cousins of the uncles, kinship to Ego not known

I. 5 Ego
Mother
Four brothers
Dead wife's mother's brother
Dead wife's older brother's son

I. 7 Ego
Brother
Widowed sister

I. 8 Ego
Two brothers
Three sisters

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 (Group I. 5, contained a nephew of Ego's dead wife, who had moved because he needed more land. But having joined, for economic purposes, with a group of his affinals, he proceeded to have all his intimate relations with them and, even in winter, when he moved back near his blood kin, his relations were with the new group, not with the old. It was propinquity which determined intimacy.)

An old village was larger and contained more unrelated families but it was generally segemented into groups of kin who continued to build houses near each other and to unite for work sharing, almost as though they were a separate village. The selection of these groups was as dependent on economic chance as that of a new village for, though usually close kin kept together, some of them might, for reasons of land or housing convenience, become attached to a group of more distant relatives. Then they would throw in their lot with these new neighbor-kin and have their closest relationships with them rather than with the old group.

Kin groups recorded for old villages are as follows:

Appendix I. 1 Ego
Three brothers
One sister
(A group of paternal relatives lived elsewhere in the village)

I. 2 Ego
"Near sibling" i.e. first cousin, side of house unknown
Father's younger sister
Father's mother' daughter's son to Ego's wife
Father's father's brother's son to Ego's wife
Two brother's of Ego's wife
Two father's father's brother's sons' daughters to Ego's son's wife
(In another part of the village lived relatives who were actually closer to Ego, i. e. two daughter's of Ego's younger brother with other relatives of his wife.)

I. 6 Ego
Younger brother
Younger sister
Younger sister's daughter

602 514 241 476 Each biological family in a group worked its land in common, (at least until the death of the father) but on special occasions, such as planting and harvesting, they called in the neighbor kin and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

were called by them in turn. Every one who worked received a share of the harvest commensurate, not with his work but with what the owner could spare. The more an owner gave, the higher his repute and the greater his assurance of getting service in his turn. For other activities, such as house building, the workers received only their meals but again they had the assurance of future help.

Work sharing may be considered the basis of the whole arrangement but the group having been formed for this purpose, was kept in running order by constant exhibitions of goodwill. These took the practical form of gifts and gifts of the one commodity which the Papago ever possessed in excess of their need: food.

When a hunter brought home a deer, he went to each main house and presented a portion proportionate to the size of the family there. If there were hunters in that house, his family would soon receive a similar gift: if not it would be any other food they could afford. But with such relatives, there was a distinct obligation not to cease giving even though there should be no return. The investment was a long term affair to be realized on in the future if not the present.

The women treated each other similarly. Whenever a special dish was cooked in one house. children would be sent around to carry portions of it to all the others. Some groups went so far that they interchanged such food gifts every day at the evening meal, the only heavy one. (App. I, 3 C and D. I. 8. C. D and E) "So you were never hungry. Even if you didn't cook one day, a dish would be sure to come in from some of the relatives." As the groups grew larger, not every house could be so treated. (I, 8, A & B). Then a woman would give regularly only to her husband's siblings (I. 3. A. 2; I. 7) with, perhaps, some old people who needed help. Or there might be family cliques and favoritism. (I. 3; I. 9). One woman, who happened to have both brothers and sisters nearby, "always gave to her brothers for she thought the sisters could cook for themselves." But even if certain families were not often included, a gift must be sent to them now and then to keep up good feeling. (I. 2. A; I. 4. A; I. 5. A).

The geographic group had ceremonial obligations as well as economic ones. Every Papago youth was expected to become a "ripe man" through the performance of certain ceremonial acts which conferred a blessing but also subjected him to supernatural dangers. In both danger and blessing the kin were thought to share and therefore, while the youth fasted and bathed to purify himself, the kin abstained from salt and bathed also. When I inquired what

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 783 kin shared the hero's lot in this way, I was given an incredible list extending, in some cases, to the above mentioned five removes — and on both the man's side and his wife's. Such wholesale purification would have disrupted the life of several villages but, on further inquiry, it appeared that those at a distance "felt the power would not reach so far." A second cousin, or even a third, living in the same village would "think it safer" to bathe and go saltless but a sister who was far away might take no precautions at all.

431 602 The same considerations applied to the gift giving. At the war purification an elaborate dance was performed by paid dancers, the pay being furnished by the hero's kin. There were no stated obligations." "If his father had nothing to give, an uncle might do it all." Or even a "distant uncle" *if he lived near*. The underlying idea seems to be that this payment was an investment in blessing. The hero, when he became a "ripe man" would enjoy a material success, either as a hunter or as a paid singer and his neighboring kin would naturally share in the proceeds. The one who had given most would be repaid accordingly.

621 602 We have pictured the geographic group, selected by circumstance and economic necessity, as the most important one. But the duties toward this group did not preclude relationships with other kin and these were kept up, often under great difficulties. Ties with the nearest kin, such as parents or children, were not allowed to lapse no matter what the distance and other relatives when they became neighbors, were immediately included in the gift giving circle. (I. 1. D; I. 4. B, I. 6. D. 2; I. 7. B. 2). But there was a general range of duties to be observed toward any class of relatives, geography permitting, and these may be taken up for each class separately.

593 857 [868] SIBLING CLASS. Siblings were brought up in the same one-room house but a sex distinction began very early. Boys followed the men, learning to hunt and to till the ground, girls kept with the women, gathering food, fetching wood and water, grinding corn and making baskets. The fear of the menstruating woman caused a separation between the two groups so that even husband and wife were seldom together during the day. Boys played together and, when they wanted more companionship, sought out their male cousins who generally lived near. Girls formed a group with their female cousins.

593 Between brother and sister as between the remoter "siblings" of opposite sex, there was a mild respect relationship. No brother and sister would stay alone in the house at night or be seen out together. Any sister had a special duty to prepare food for her brother, even

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGE GROUPINGS

A Papago village official addressed his speeches not to "my fellow townsmen," but to "my kinsmen." For applause, each one called him by the kinship term and it was rarely that anyone had to substitute "my friend." A village was a settlement of kin and others entered it only by invitation or by marriage.

But a village was not a constant unit, for desert conditions, before the digging of government wells, did not permit of year-long residence in any one place. In the summer, when rains filled the shallow reservoirs scooped out with blades of wood and stone, the people could live in the flat country whose name is the same as that for "land" and "ground" and here they could have their fields near the mouths of washes. Such a farming settlement was known not as a village but as Fields, since these were the important thing.

The fields could be occupied only during the summer rainy season and as long afterward as the water lasted in the reservoir: then the people must move to the foothills where there were springs. Each Field had its foothill camp, known as the Well where its residents kept duplicates of the objects they could not transport, such as metates and water jars and where they had at least the posts for a shelter. Sometimes one Well would not accomodate all the Field people and then they had several. Sometimes two related villages used the same Well, but then they kept apart and established no gift intimacies with their new neighbors. When one changed his Field village, for good reason, he was still not expected to change his Well village. Relationships in each were permanent.

The result was that each village had a dual existence, in summer at the Fields, and in winter at the Wells. Many censuses have come to grief over this difficulty. But Field and Well together were part of a larger group. In the course of time, the villages had proliferated, sending out one group after another to look for more land. The new settlement thus made might be only a suburb of the home village, obeying its officials and coming home for ceremonies But sometimes the daughter village was so large or so far away that it needed a leader of its own. Then it appointed one, but considered him always subsidiary to the leader of the parent village. The new hamlet might also, in course of time acquire a fetish and hold a few ceremonies in imitations of those at home. But, on great ceremonial

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

361 But on great ceremonial
621 occasions, all daughter villages returned in a body to the parent
716 village. If intervillage games were held, it was understood that all
721 played and bet on the same side. If one went on the warpath, the others were notified and asked to join. Modern interpreters speak of these related villages as "partners". We shall refer to the whole group of mother village, daughter villages and Wells, as a village unit.

The three reservations number eleven such village units whose location has changed very little in the two hundred and more years since Kino visited most of them. The reason is obvious. They were placed in spots which were, then as now, the best for cultivation. Usually, the main villages are found in the middle of the north-to-south valleys, with their daughter villages stretching along the valley in both directions and their Wells perched in the mountain walls at either side. Sometimes a village has made two or three short moves to get better water and it may have carried its old name with it to each location, but all the sites are easily identified and generally the history of the moves is preserved in tradition.

Our knowledge of the daughter villages dates only from 1860[1] and it is possible that their settlement is recent and due to the cessation of Apache raids. Kino, who visited several of the mother villages, says nothing about the daughters and we do not know whether the three hundred and seven hundred people who greeted him[2] lived in town or in the environs. But we know that, during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century there could be no daughter villages. That was the time of the Apache attacks, when the people were obliged to concentrate and, no matter how far away their fields were: "They could not live far apart. They were afraid." (26)

361 But when the Apache ceased to trouble, toward the end of the
621 nineteenth century, the large villages began to break up and
178 groups moved out, either to the fields they had been cultivating, or to new ones. Several villages recorded in the appendix were founded in the last two or three generations and the movement is still going on. In the last few years there has appeared a factor which will influence residence even more than freedom from attack. This is the digging of government wells. Already these have given some of the large Field villages a permanent water supply so that movement in the dry season is unnecessary. As more of the Fields are supplied, we may expect some of the Wells to be abandoned while others, if conveniently located for cattle raising, may grow into

[1] Hoover, 1395, p. 259.
[2] Bolton, 1936, pp. 397, 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

permanent villages in their own right. Certainly the yearly migration of the population and its dual residence, will become a thing of the past.

The eleven village units form the outstanding divisions in the Papago country and the loyalty of each individual is above everything else, to his village and its "partners". But the units are gathered into dialect groups, each with very different affiliations. The groups have no governmental or ceremonial significance and their members intermarry, though generally they prefer not to do so on account of divergent customs. The differences between them are fast disappearing and to find the points presented here required a long search. Many of the influences which have caused differentitation may be recent but it is not impossible that some of the lines of cleavage are very ancient ones and reflect a difference between the early Hohokam and those who accepted Pueblo acculturation. There follows a list of the dialect divisions, with their component village units and such historic data as are available for each. This list is in substantial accord with the excellent map published by Hoover[1], who has done painstaking work in tracing village descent. At the end of the chapter is a condensed chart, giving the names in common use (which may be Spanish, English, or adapted Papago), the Papago names and translation.

Papago-Dialect Groups and Village Units

1. Archie dialect group

These are the Papago proper, the people on whom the name of Bean Eaters was originally bestowed. They have an opprobrious nickname, totokuanyi (loose gee string) never used by themselves. For clarity, they may here be spoken of as the Archie group, Archie being their oldest and most important village. It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, would seem to have provided the channel.

This group occupies a long north-and-south valley in the eastern part of the reservation, not far from the Pima. Their dialect is more like that of the Pima than are those of the other divisions and such of their customs as can be compared with the Pima show a

[1] Hoover, 1935.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

close resemblance. Comparison however, is difficult since the Pima have undergone such rapid acculturation in recent years. Kino, visiting these people in 1689, before they had received the name of Papago, found them in close communication with the people of the Gila[1] from whom, apparently, they had learned to receive him "with arches and crosses." This communication continues, many of the Archie people having relatives in Pima country and going there regularly to help in the harvest.

The Archie group was the one furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners. Basketry still flourishes among them and even the old plaiting technique is occasionally found. They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere. The important Puebloan ceremony of the Wiikita "belongs to them because it is they who have the songs and the scraping stick." They have also, in every village, the old ceremonial leader, in addition to the modern "governor" and have usually an ancient round ceremonial house. Aapap and apki sibs predominate and are the ones featured in ceremonies.

The Archie division includes four village units, that of Archie itself, Mesquite Root, Akchin, and Komelik. These have a closer approach to federation than have any of the other villages, acknowledging the Archie chief as their leader, much as the Pima acknowledged the chief at Sacaton. Their statement is that all of them "the true Papago" settling at Archie scattered seed which blew down the valley as far as Mesquite Root, thus establishing their claim to the land. Komelik, which is even farther away was a later offshoot.

Archie Village Units

Archie (aatci, the Narrow Place)

At the head of the Santa Rosa Valley. Oldest settlement of the Papagos proper, and head village of its dialect division. Locale of the quadrennial harvest fest which is performed only by the four village units of this division. The village was visited in 1698 by Kino who found seven hundred people there and called it "the great rancheria of Adid" which he re-named San Francisco.[2] Archie's present Well is Cirenaca (siri nakia, saddle hanging) or San Lorenzo, and a few people have Fields at Beebhak.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 396.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Bac (vahk, the hollow place)

The large and important village of San Xavier del Bac, once a stronghold of the Sóba Jípuris, now ranks as a daughter village of Archie, having been settled by its people as the Sóba Jípuris died out. Bac is the only one of the old irrigated towns now on the Papago reservation. In Kino's time, while the Sóba Jípuris still held it, the Father Visitor thought its irrigation compared favorably with that of Mexico City itself.[1] But during the eighteenth century, the Sóba Jípuris died out of some contagious disease and the desert Papagos seeped in to use the fields. The writer was able to find no traditions among them which differ from those current on the reservation, but Bac has long been under intensive White influence and all native traits are fast disappearing.

The village was given a missionary in Kino's time and continued to have one, at least intermittently, until Mexico's separation from Spain. It was the only town above the Mexican border to have this intensive Spanish influence and it may have been for that reason that the Sóba Jípuris remained there when they left the other Santa Cruz villages. The church founded by Kino is still there and the people are definitely Catholic.

The present Bac people are largely from the Santa Rosa neighborhood. Many of them retain their old fields and vibrate back and forth.

Santa Rosa (kaitc mĭhk, Burnt Seeds) is an offspring of Archie which has far outgrown the parent village and now has a chief and ceremonial leader of its own. It uses several wells. Covered Wells is the largest and oldest, a place where water could be reached through the gravel of a sunken stream; others are Comobabi (shared with Akchin), Cobabi (Badger Well), Noipakam, and o'ot wahwia (Sand Wells). Offspring of Santa Rosa is the village across the wash, really an extension of the parent village and called kokomat kĭhk (Palo Verde Standing), also sikorhimatk (Where Water Whirls Round), on the road to Sells. Bolton thinks that a delegation which visited Kino at Mesquite Root may have come from this last place.[2]

Akchin (ak tcinyi, Mouth of the Gap)

In the valley with Archie and Santa Rosa and so close that the three act practically as one, though having separate governments. All three join, with Anegam in the harvest feast and the drinking ceremonies. Kino visited Akchin in 1698, was welcomed by four hundred people and baptised sixty one

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 268.

[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 399 note.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 children.[1] He was told the name was Actum Chico, Little Akchin or Mouth of the Little Gap, and he re-named it San Serafin, a title now forgotten.

Half of Akchin uses Comobabi as a Well and half goes to Sand Wells, both shared with Santa Rosa. Hoover[2] says that Cirenaca, Sand Wells and Worm Pond are all offshoots of Comobabi. A further recent offshoot is at Fresnal Ranch, south of Comobabi where some Indian families use the ranch water all the year and have formed a settlement called tciauri tak, (Devil Sitting).

kuitatk (Mesquite Root)

The long valley in which Santa Rosa, Akchin and Archie are situated, extends south to this abandoned village at the southern extremity of Quijotoa Mountain (kiho toak, Carrying Basket Mountain). Being in the foothills, it is properly a Well and not a Field village, but it was the chief one of its group, perhaps because it was a point for defense against the Apache. In Kino's time, before the Apache raids became so frequent, it was in a slightly different location, near a pond and was called Batqui (watcki, the Pool). Kino counted two hundred people there. The pool dried up and the village moved to Mesquite Root[3] where a stone compound was built for refuge in case of attack. The Apache destroyed the village in 1852 and it was never completely repopulated. Nevertheless it was, during the nineteenth century, one of the most famous of the Papago villages, its chiefs having close connections with the authorities, first of Mexico and then of the United States.

After the Americans took possession, a silver mine was started in the nearby mountains and a water system put in, the location of this novelty being called by the Papago, wainam kihk, (Iron Stands Up, or Iron Pump). It was soon abandoned and some people from Mesquite Root moved in. But even this settlement did not last and the whole locality is now deserted. The sacred basket has been taken to Big Fields, which was always the Field village, but it is returned to the old home for ceremonies. Big Fields does not even use Kuitatk as a Well any longer but goes to Noric.

People from the old Kuitatk village scattered south and east and, since the danger from Apache attacks was over, formed smaller hamlets. The first was at Coyote Village (pan tak, Coyote Sitting). Some families had always had fields there and now they dug a well and planned to remain the year round. But the well was not enough for many; so a few moved to San Pedro (wiuhpuri, Tobacco (Mountain)) and dug

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.
[2] Hoover, 1935, p. 261.
[3] Father Bonaventura.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

another well. Others went to wahw kĭhk, (Standing Rock) abandoned that, and moved across the road to San Isidro (havanyi nakia, Hanging Crow). All these offshoots considered themselves under the governor of kuitatk, while that village still existed and ultimately under the governor of Archie. However, they had a subsidiary governor and a ceremonial leader of their own, located at San Pedro but they have grown so fast that they are considering a governor at San Isidro also.

Other offshoots of kuitatk are: Santa Cruz, Rincon Jeowic, Alamo, Chuapo, Artesia.

Komalik (komarik, Flat Place)

This is the southernmost of the Archie village units, near the Mexican border and under the shadow of the Baboquivari Range, the dwelling of Elder Brother. It is the rancheria of Baggiburi, reported by Kino to have five hundred inhabitants.[1] It acknowledges relationship to Archie but is too far away to join in the quadrennial harvest feast. Its neighbors, some of them interspersed among the Komalik Wells belong to the southern or Mexican dialect division and are considered almost as foreigners by the dwellers of Komalik who still have the speech of the north and many of its rituals. Komalik has moved slightly from its former position at kom wo'o (Mulberry Pond) which was too open to the Apache. Its present Well is Bear Well.

Its oldest offspring is the neighboring village of Chulic, whose inhabitants are said to have been frightened out of Komalik by the Apache. Chulic also uses Bear Well.

Topawa is another offspring, originally called koks mĭhk (Burnt Dog). Its present name is also Papago, a White corruption of the Papago words ṭ pawi, it is a bean, used in answer to a question as to their crops. Topawa is headquarters for the Franciscan missionaries. It uses a well at Fresnal, although Fresnal is Koloti property, while its own well is called pi-t-oikam, (their special well).

2. KUHATK DIALECT GROUP

Kuhatk, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*. The name applies to a small strip of territory at the north of the reservation, between the Archie group and the Pima. It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here, in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 197 Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them. Their land was, for some time, included in the Pima reservation and it was not returned to the Papago until 1933. In the meantime, they had intermarried largely with the Pima and had also undergone much White influence. Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie, form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary.

Among the kuhatk, aapap and apkí sibs predominate, as at Archie. There is the same conservatism in material culture as among the neighboring groups, but during the Pima connection, much kuhatk land was allotted, acculturation necessarily proceded faster, and many old ceremonies were lost. Anegam, the kuhatk village nearest to Archie, always remained part of the Papago reservation and being cut off from its congeners, joined with Archie in ceremonies. But it kept a certain connection with the people of hunuhra, the dialect division to the west, which sometimes shared the Anegam [578] Well. The result is a feeling of foreigness between Anegam and Archie, resulting in mutual ridicule and frequent quarrels between their children in the government school.

Kuhatk Village Units

621 Anegam (ánkam, Having Willows)

This is the first of the kuhatk towns, a close neighbor of Archie and Santa Rosa, joining with them in ceremonies. The village was in the same general locality in 1698 when Kino passed near it and sent its chief a wand of office.[1] Later it moved to ohn k wahwia, Salt Well, but this area, when the Papago reservation was formed, was left outside it so Anegam moved in close to Santa Rosa. The Wells it uses now are Montezuma Mine, Copperosity and kih wahwia (Big Wells). While Salt Well was still in use it was often shared with the people of Kaka, in the huhuhra division and many Anegam people are said to be huhuhra:

Quajote (kuhatk, Dried and Burnt)

This village, with those to follow, was in the strip left outside the reservation and not purchased until 1932. Its communications, therefore, have been with the Pima and many of its former residents are now on Pima land. Quajote received

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Kino in 1698 and sent runners into the desert to bring him water long before he arrived.[1] Kino gave to this village and to its near neighbor sihw oitak (Bitter Fields) the name of San Bonifacio and in the two together he found more than three hundred people. A cane of office was bestowed on the chief who accompanied Kino nearly to Archie. Communications at that time were close, both with the Gila Pimas who had sent word of the missionary's coming and with the Sóba Jípuris of the Santa Cruz, whom the Quajote people had just been aiding in a fight. Quajote Well is Bitter Well. 621

Other villages in the Quajote area are Chuchu (tcihtcih: caves) Kokomelik, perhaps visited by Kino and called el Cubit Tubic[2] and Wotum (Cockleburr) which was certainly visited. It was the nearest village to the Gila Pimas and apparently in close connection with them for it knew how to welcome the missionary with arches and crosses though no Spaniard had visited it before. Kino baptised five infants and a sick adult here and called the place San Angelo.

3. HUHUHRA DIALECT GROUP

Huhuhra means grandmother's children, *i. e.*, orphans and was bestowed on the people of Káka[3], one village of the group because they had no Well and wandered about sharing those of other village units. The huhuhra area is at the extreme west of Papago country running south into Mexico. Further west are mountains and uninhabitable desert which preclude expansion in that direction. The legend is that these people did not "come up from underground" but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie people. The site of magical events said to have taken place before the emergence (such as the death of the monster eagle) is placed in their territory. For this reason, huhuhra people are all rumored to have magic power and are looked on somewhat askance by the other groups. Some corroboration for the legend can be found in the fact that the huhuhra do not have the Pueblean ceremony of the Wikita, though they have the Mexican ceremonies of the drinking and the cleansing feasts. Their dialect is more like that of Archie than like the Hispanized speech of the south but it contains many incomprehensible words, said to be ancient. The huhuhra are the most primitive of Papago groups and the most conservative, having kept the old brush house long after it was abandoned in other parts of the reservation. 621 197 [578] [178]

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[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 397.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.
[3] Father Bonaventura.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621

Huhuhra Village Units

Kaka (the Cleared Land) is the village which earned for its whole division the name of Orphans. Its people wandered about in the dry season. The spring now called Isabel Mine, which they used to share with Anegam dried up but a new one, sihw wahwia, Bitter Spring, burst out on Quajote land; so they went there. Kaka itself, however, has long been in the same place, for Kino in 1698 sent a wand of office to its governor while he was visiting Archie. The Spaniards spelled the name *El Gaga*. Kaka has outlying fields called kuitcit watchki (where there is a big pond). When it dries, they go to capitchk (a narrow wash). They now draw water from the pump at the government school. Before that, when the plant was owned by the rancher McKinney, he supplied them with water; so they have not migrated for some time.

A present connection of Kaka is the Papago village near Gila Bend, called siri mihk, Burnt Saddle. This is said to be a recent camp of men who were employed in the building of the Southern Pacific Railroad and afterward settled in the vicinity. However, it was an old village of the Gila Pimas and may be another example of the seepage of the Desert People into deserted villages of their richer kinsmen. Kino, going east along the Gila in 1699, passed several villages of "Cocomaricopas" and then, at the bend the first village of Pimas called Oydabuise (oitak, field, bnise?) and containing one hundred and fifty men who welcomed him with their usual arches and crosses. We have no history of the place until recent years when its chief was appointed from Kaka.

Perigua (Papago hikiwanyi)

The inhabitants of this unit are nicknamed kikimai, fat or rich. Old Papagos say the town was once as big as Santa Rosa, and Kino, in 1698, found two hundred eighty Indians there, raising maize and calabashes. Very recently some of the inhabitants have branched out and founded the settlements of Imikah and Toabit though the others offshoots may be older. Each of the last two has a chief appointed by the Whites and considering himself subsidiary to the chief at Perigua. Red Well was once the only well and the people kept a sacred basket there as well as at Perigua. Now they use Poso Redondo which was dug by the Spaniards and some even move down into Cubo territory.

The valley in which Perigua is situated continues south to Cubo and then on across the Mexican border, almost to Caborca, the home of the primitive western Pimans mentioned above. This valley, in Kino's time, was flourishing, for he mentions 1000 inhabitants.[1] The principal towns were El Comac (Ko-

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 435.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

maki, (gray mountain) famous in Papago song, and Actum Grande, the Mouth of the Big Wash. With four hundred inhabitants Actum Grande had an offshoot — Gubo, the modern Cubo (kĭ wo'o, Big Pond), but in time the big pond disappeared, the whole valley became depopulated,[1] the Perigua people were invited down to repopulate Cubo, which therefore has an intimate connection with the older village. Its wells were below the border, Foam Well, Ground Owls and Sweet water. The small settlements around Camote, which was really only a field for gathering roots, use Molinitas, which is Tecalote's well. The northern ones used Red Well, until they themselves dug at Walls Well.

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4. KOKOLOLOTI DIALECT GROUP

This division represents the extension, into American Papagueria, of the Hispanized area to the south. The Jesuit missions to the Pimans were, with the exception of San Xavier, all in what is now Mexico, on the Altar and San Ignacio rivers. But they had frequent communication with the heathen Pimas who came to stay for long periods working for their food and receiving religious instruction. There is record of Pimas from the Gila making this sort of visit but it must have been much more common among the southern Papagos, only a few days journey away, as are the villages on both sides of the present border.

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Tecalote was one of those villages, with territory on both sides of the border. Its old Papago name tcukuht kuh, (owl cry) became translated into Mexican Tecalote (Nahua tecalotl, owl) and its people, by a doubly reduplicated plural are called kokololoti.[2] All its connections are with the river valleys of the present Mexico. Its dialect shows the influence of Spanish since it is not only interlarded with Spanish words but has lost the constant aspiration of the northern speech and substituted a lengthened vowel more in consonance with the Romance languages. The dialect is much ridiculed by the Archie people who profess not to understand it.

[186]

Most Tecalote people still speak Spanish. From the well stocked missions to the south, they learned the raising of cattle and began to own them and to ride horses long before either was custom reached the north. They were frequently called on for help by the Spanish and Mexican soldiers and many of them served as scouts and acquired guns before the northerners.

[1] Father Bonaventura.

[2] Papago words are all accented on the first syllable and since the language could not accept a word accented in the middle, it split it into two, *teca loti* and reduplicated both. The *t* got lost in the process.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 Their native government, as far as it persists is modelled on the Spanish colonial regime with a secular governor and a whipping [744] post to punish transgressors. They all profess Christianity, the majority Catholic but a fair number of Presbyterians. None of [177] the old ceremonies are now held but a few have been amalgamated with Catholic ceremonies to form a new ritual.

621 184 The Kokololoti and the Archie division are the two most completely at odds in traditions and customs and political splits are most likely to occur along their geographic lines. Among Tecalote people the maam and waaliw sibs predominate, but there are also many of that nondescript sib, the ókari who do not know their moiety and are accused of being no sib at all but a catchall for scattered people whose sib was lost.

Kokololoti Village Units

621 Kupk (Closed, referring to a dam)

This and the other villages of the dialect division occupy the broad Quijotoa Valley, known in Spanish accounts as the Llano, or plain. The Papago name for the area is komaki wihtco, (Under the Gray Mountain) which the Spaniards wrote El Comac. Kupk, the parent town, has shrunk and the prominent place is now taken by Pisinimo, whose name is said to come from the fact that a Bison head was once brought there. This would have meant importation from a great distance and the only possible agents are the Apache but the legend is vague.

Pisinimo has as daughters hahri mihitak (Burnt Squash) and Cheeweeton (Long Pond), and Mulberry Pond or Santa Cruz. The Well for all four is Poso Blanco, while Kupk still uses San Antone.

Another recent offshoot of Kupk is Kavolik or Cowlic. This was originally not a field but a mesquite grove. Some families moved there from kupk and others from its relative, Tecalote. Another group of immigrants came direct from Mexico bringing with them Mexican ideas of government and housing. They wanted a plaza, with houses in regular rows and the Mexicanized Catholic ceremonies so familiar in Sonora. [184] They live together in a group and engineer the Easter ceremony which is unique among the Papagos but otherwise have not converted the village to their views. Kavorik has a daughter, Burro Pond, and a smaller one upat kihk, Acacia Stands, which uses a Well in the mountains south of Sells.

Tecalote

This village, near the border, is in the same broad north-and-south plain with Pisinimo. The plain extends south into Mexico where many of the wells are. In Spanish accounts it

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

is called the Llano, Plain. In Kino's day all its inhabitants were one community, their main village El Comac, now in Kupk territory. Tecalote and Pisinimo have been separate villages for two centuries. Tecalote was once as large as Pisinimo at present, with farms stretching north as far as Sells and south into the present Mexico. Being nearest to the Altar settlements, it was the first of the Papago villages to have cattle in quantity. Perhaps for this reason it was always a point of attack for the Apache and had a fortress for keeping the stock safe during their raids. During the Mexican war, 1853, its chief took twenty men from Mesquite Root and some from Tecalote and went to Mount Baboquiviri to draw off the Mexican attack. He was defeated and some of his men were taken prisoners. 621 ●

Many of these people never came back but settled with their families near Baboquiviri and at Kavorik and Wamori, with the result that hamlets of Tecalote dialect are interspersed with the fringes of Archie and Kupk. Tecalote remained a prosperous village till some time after the Mexican war for Emory reports it as thriving and already possessing cattle while the northern part of the reservation was in a much more primitive state. But soon after this the village broke up, perhaps as a aftermath of the war and those families which did not settle elsewhere wandered in Mexico. Here they learned to speak Spanish, took over many Spanish customs and must have undergone considerable racial intermixture. Only one family returned, to find the old field deserted and to establish itself as in a new settlement, with a new pond, and fields a short distance away at a spot called Onion Fields.

Tecalote's well was Cobabi (Badger Well) in Sonora and later Cabota in Sonora where a fortress was built.

The daughter villages are now larger than the almost deserted parental settlement. The most important are Sells, where the government agency now is, Topawa, the Catholic headquarters, San Miguel, Covlic and Wamori. Since the agency has become the headquarters of more paid work than was ever before available on the reservation, people from all divisions have tended to congregate there. The result has been a breaking down of division boundary lines, and even a slight modification of dialects which is bound to continue.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

The Ancient Form

631 623 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings, held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units, generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground". The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organization and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose federations of village units but such formal organization as there was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the Basin.[1]

CEREMONIAL HOUSE

●621 344 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a ceremonial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House, because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are square.

[773 537 The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for rain were sung.

Now villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

[1] Strong, 1927.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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weather protection was needed at that season. Even at cactus camp, where only a few families could gather, some sort of meeting place was contrived though without ceremony.

No ceremonial property was kept in the house. The regular storage place for Papago sacred objects, whether individual or communal property, is some hiding place in the hills. Sacred things are considered too powerful to keep near human dwellings, besides which constant migration and danger from enemies made them safer elsewhere. The Keeper of the Meeting had his own hiding place for all village property which was brought to the Big House, sometimes with special rites, on the day of a ceremony.

SACRED OBJECTS

Each of the main villages had its arcana, brought up according to legend from underground or acquired from the supernaturals. These were kept, not in a bundle, but in a basket, made in the old plaited style; a system reminiscent of the southern California Shoshoneans and particularly of the Luiseño who also use a basket, or at least a matting bundle.[1]

The contents of the sacred basket were usually kept secret but since that at Pisinimo has been stolen, I have been given an account of it. The chief items may well have been relics of the Hohokam, although informants did not know how they were obtained. One was a small frog, carved of green stone and another a rude effigy in sandstone, said to represent Elder Brother, the Papago supernatural. The frog and the human effigy were both familiar in Hokoham handicraft. There was also one of the slate palettes previously mentioned and several long pendants of slate or lava. A number of well made arrow points may also have belonged to the former culture since otherwise it is hard to see why they should be included. The last item was three dried animal hearts, probably those of deer, with six eagle tail feathers stuck in each. All these were packed in the basket with eagle down and placed in a mesquite tree at a distance from the village. A delegation went to get the basket on all important occasions and then took it back again, after speaking to it and perhaps renewing the eagle feathers.

At Quitovaca, the basket contains a stone, said to be the diminished remnant of the heart of a monster, killed there by Elder Brother to save the people. It is packed with eagle down and with a stone effigy which was found (in old ruins?) and believed to have magic power. It is brought from the mountains on ceremonial occasions,

[1] Strong, p. 292.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

APPENDIX I

PAPAGO FAMILY GROUPS, SHOWING LAND USE AND GIFT RELATIONSHIPS

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1. Group at Kuitatk (Mesquite Root) about 1850—1860, informant 26

Mesquite Root was an ancient town in which people had gathered for many generations for fear of the Apache. Containing 300 people, it was too large to be composed only of relatives but related groups clustered together. All the land around Mesquite Root was inherited in different families and those who needed more land had to move.

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The group under consideration were the five children of a widow who had married in *Kuiwo*, Sloping Ground, but returned to her native village after her husband's death. Since she had few brothers, she had always retained a share in the family land there, and her eldest son had come back in the summers to cultivate it. When her husband died, she left his land at Sloping Ground to his brother and returned to use her own family land. She lived in a house with her oldest son and his family, while the other sons and one daughter clustered about them in a half circle.

In the dry season, instead of using the Well of Mesquite Root, the family went back to that of their father's family, Badger Well. Here they met paternal relatives, two great uncles and a distant female cousin, with whom they had the same gift relations as they did at Mesquite Root with the mother's relatives.

House A

1. The Gambler, governor of Mesquite Root
2. wife of A 1
3. mother of A 1
4. daughter
5. son
6. son

Living arrangements: A 1, the oldest son built his house in a central position, the houses of his three brothers and one sister grouped around it. Each house had its own kitchen and storehouse, but the women took turns cooking for the whole group. Each woman cooked for one day (two meals) choosing what she would use from her own storehouse. Children were sent to the neighboring houses to collect empty bowls and return full, one bowl for each married couple, one bowl for their children.

Land: The four sons divided their father's land, giving a strip also to their sister (see below) and to a father's older brother's son, called older uncle.

[p.211]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

House N

592 1 Pointed Shoes head, distant nephew to A 1
(House O same as I, 2, House G)
1 Little Eyes ffs to A 1
This family lived five miles away in the valley, whence water was fetched when the pond at Mesquite Root began to dry. The daughter of A 1 was sent there almost once a week with food gifts.

House P
at Sloping Ground, father's old home

1 Head fb of A 1
2 wife
3 son
4 son
5 son
6 son

Land: P 1 used the land belonging to the father of A 1, B 1, C 1, D 2, E 1. This land had been deserted when its owner, his brother, died and the widow A 3 moved back to her own family land at Mesquite Root.

Gifts: This family was invited at harvest and given produce which they reciprocated.

About thirty relatives of A 2 lived at Kaka, in a different valley. At harvest, they sent for House A to come and help themselves and the guests once stayed a year. At their own harvest they gave a similar invitation.

592 2. Households at Sikorhimat (Whirling Water) about 1860—1870
●621 informant 26

Whirling Water was an old settlement with inherited lands. The well was Covered Wells, used also by Santa Rosa. However, the two groups did not mix but kept, the one to the wash, the other to the high land. There was no gift exchange between them even though some of their members were distantly related.

592 House A

1 household head, (a shaman) f o b s of B 1
2 wife of A 1 m si to B 1
3 Shady Bow, son of A 1 and A 2 f o b s of H 2
4 Maria Chona, wife of A 3 f f b d to C 1
5 Winged, son of A 1 and A 2
2 Feather Tips wife of A 5
7 Skirt String, son of A 1 and A 2
8 wife of Skirt String, d of C 1
9 Basket Unravelled, son of A 1 and A 2
Shining Evening, son of A 1 and A 2, transvestite

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Living arrangements: All the family lived in one house, the younger women working under the direction of J 1 who was almost senile but domineering. 592

Land: The land had been in the family of J 1 who had returned there after her husband's death.

Work sharing: All the men worked the land together and pooled the products.

Gifts: A quart basket of cooked food was sent every two or three days to Houses H and I. When H 1 sent meat, this family reciprocated the same day with corn and beans.

3. Households at wahw kihk (Standing Rock) 1870—1890 informant 26

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This was a new settlement founded by a group of relatives from Mesquite Root because the latter town was crowded and had insufficient water. The discoverer who made Standing Rock habitable was Dried Seeds, mother's younger brother to A 1 and B 2, both of whom followed him to the new place. Other relatives and connections followed, the women bringing their husbands so that in this case patrilineal residence broke down for economic reasons. The special group described is that of informant's second husband with his sisters and half sisters, all of whom lived close together. They lived at Standing Rock all the year without needing to move because of the abundance of water.

House A

592

1 Household head, Pisali
He had had two wives simultaneously but both had died. His sons by them married and were living in separate houses.

2 Current wife, Maria Chona, had left a husband at Whirling Water.

3 Son of A 1 and A 2, Two Bits
(Wife's daughter by the former husband was with her maternal uncle, in the home village.)

Land: New, taken up on emigration from Mesquite Root

Work sharing: Before the son of the family was old enough, help in the fields was given by sister's sons of A 1, B 5, B 9 and B 12. They planted their own fields first and then, without being asked, came over to work for their uncle. They were given their food and were asked to help themselves from the harvest. No criticism was made as to the quantity they took, but they returned an equal amount from their own harvest. Sisters of A 1: B 2, 3, 4, C 2, and D 2 always came to help cook during harvest, and were given a basket of beans each or its equivalent.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Whirling Water. When the wife's family emigrated to Standing Rock, the couple joined them there, abandoning their field at Whirling Water. Their son D 3 brought his wife home in the regular way. The daughter married a man from Mesquite Root but all his family were dead so he left his land and joined his wife's family. His wife's mother was at that time with them but on arriving at Standing Rock she went to her older daughter Susannah. 592

Gifts: This family and that of Susannah, House C lived close together and used the same storehouse. They did not eat together but exchanged food gifts at every meal.

4. Group of relatives at San Pedro (Tobacco Mountain) from about 1900 to the present (informant 2) 592 621

This group had moved from Coyote Village, a settlement in the hills. A mountain spring was near enough to the village so that the people did not need to move in winter but they did so, going to Mesquite Root, a larger place, for fear of the Apache. In summer they had to go into the valley, some times three or four miles away, to plant. The informant, A 1, discovered that water was obtainable near Tobacco Mountain and dug a well there. Two of his "distant" paternal uncles followed him and the three started a new permanent settlement, of which A 1 was made governor. Relatives from Coyote Village joined them for planting but returned to the old village in the winter.

House A 592

1 Donkey Shoulder, head
2 Wife
3 Ramon, son of A 1 and A 2
4 son of A 1 and A 2
(A daughter married in Coyote Village 17 miles away)

Living arrangements: All lived in one house until the two sons married and built separate shelters but the family used the common kitchen.

Land: A 1, on coming to Tobacco Mountain fenced off a field for himself which he works with his sons.

Work sharing: When the help of his sons is not sufficient, A 1 calls on the two senior "uncles" who joined his pioneer venture. He continues to call on their families though nearer relatives have now joined him. For large operations, such as plowing, which is done with White man's tools, the whole village works together, taking the fields in rotation.

Gifts: The women of the family sent out food gifts two or three times a week. "Not much because there was not much food." Only one or two families received gifts on one day; they were

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592 taken in turn, the senior uncles' turn coming oftenest. The gifts were reciprocated the same day. When A 1 kills a beef, he invites the whole village (all connected) to partake. This may happen two or three times a year. He always fills his saddlebags and takes a large portion to the married daughter in Coyote Village.

Heads of families living at Tobacco Mountain who exchange food gifts with A 1 and who are given beef when he slaughters:

B Teviso Luis, ffobs s called "older uncle" one of the pioneers
C Wilamin ffobs s called "older uncle" one of the pioneers
D Sipela (Cypriano) ffybss called "younger uncle"
E Nestoro fob to C
F Nicola fbs to C
G Filomeno fsi s to E and F
H Nasio fsi s to E and F
I Francisco brother of F
J Avilano (his wife is mbd to F)
K Manuel Chappo m b s to wife of D
L Narisco Lopez obs to A
M Tomaso obs to A
N Domingo son of H

592 5. Group at tciaur (Devil[1]-Sitting) about 1890, informant 21

●621 Devil-Sitting was a summer planting ground settled by a group of paternal kin. Some moved in winter to the well at Comobabi (Mulberry Well) where they met a group from the other side of the family. The camp of these other relatives was about three-quarters of a mile away and, though it contained some who were closely related, the group from Devil-Sitting had no gift relations with them (21).

House A

592 1 Ego's f, a widower
2 Ego,
3 d

House B

1 m of A 1

House C

1 yb of A 1, unmarried
2 yb of A 1,
3 yb of A 1

Living arrangements: The three houses above were small huts whose function was that of rooms in a single dwelling. The

[1] "Devil" names omitted since informant objected to giving those of the dead.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592

House E

1 wife's m b to A 1, with wife and children

Land: Had moved to Devil when his niece, now dead, had married, because there was more land.

Work Sharing: Cultivated his own field with sons, called the others in at harvest time to help themselves.

Gifts: Sent food gifts frequently to House F, his relative, less often to A, B, C, D, affinals.

House F

1 ob s of dead wife of A 1, with wife and children

Land: F 1 had land in Achin where the wife of A 1 had lived. Being crowded there, and finding more at Devil, he moved without asking permission. He kept with the Devil people even in summer, when they moved back among his own relatives.

Work sharing: He worked his field with his sons, but when he needed help he called on his nearest relative, E 1.

Gifts: At harvest time affinal relatives at Devil were asked to help themselves and paternal kin from Akchin were sent for.

592 221 In winter, when water failed at Devil, Households A, B, C, and F moved to Mulberry Well, the winter camp used by the people of Akchin, the home of the dead wife of A 1. Here they met a group of this woman's relatives, but camped three quarters of a mile away from them and exchanged gifts only rarely. Their customary gift giving went on in their own circle. It may be mentioned that E 1 and F 1 were both Akchin people but, having moved to Devil, they now made their winter camp with its residents and formed part of their gift giving circle, not that of their nearer kin.

[621]

Group at Comobabi (Mulberry) Well

Houses A, B, C, E, F, as at Devil

House G

1 f of dead wife of A 1
2 wife of G 1
3 f of G 2

House H

Brothers of dead wife of A 1 with wives and children

House I

Mother's brothers of dead wife of A 1

A few relatives of A 1 himself also came to Mulberry Well, but stayed near the relatives of A 1's dead wife and exchanged gifts with them because they had fields near them at home and had "got used to it." These were:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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House J

f si of A 1

House K

f f o s s to A 1

House L

m brothers of A 1

6. Households at Anegam (The Willows) about 1880 (informant 5)

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The family had headquarters at the Willows, where they built brush houses. When the water gave out there, they went to the foothills to hunt, living in roofless circular enclosures. During planting time they moved to and fro between The Willows and their fields, some of which were five miles away at the base of the hills, where flood water collected.

592

House A

1 Never-Says-Anything, head, o b of B 1, C 2, m o b of D 2
2 wife of 1 (elderly, no children)

Living arrangements: A 1 was the head of a group of relatives, including a younger brother and a sister and a niece. All had separate houses for sleeping, but cooked and ate together in a common kitchen, the younger women dividing the work and taking food from a common storehouse.

Land: The four relatives used their inherited land in common. They had two fields, one near the mountain for melons and one at home for other crops.

Work sharing: Work was done by the men of the four households without outside help. They took turns living in a windbreak near the mountain to tend the melon field.

Gifts: Gifts of dried meat, salt and cactus syrup were sent to distant cousins at Santa Rosa (5 miles away) three or four times a year.

House B

1 head, yb of A 1, o b of C 2, m ob of D 2
2 wife of 1
3 Coyote-Skin-Quiver s of B 1 and B 2
4 Pitala d of B 1 and B 2
5 Chawa s of B 1 and B 2

Living arrangements: Separate house but shared meals as with A1.
Land: Father's field shared with ob, ysi and y si d as with A 1
Work sharing: Shared by men of four families
Gifts: as with A 1.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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House C

1 head
2 Having a Belt, wife of C 1
3 Licenza (Crescenza) d of c 1 and C 2, other daughters died

Living arrangements: Separate house but shared meals as with A 1
Land: The husband was from another village but came to his wife's family because they had more land.
Work sharing: The men of the four families worked the fields in common.
Gifts: As with A 1.

House D

1 Hugging-an-Owl, head
2 Flowering Wind, wife of D 1, si d to A 1, B 1, C 2
3 Dionisio, s of D 1 and D 2
4 s of A 1 by a former wife
5 s of D 1 by a former wife
(A daughter of D 1 and D 2 had married a Pima and was living at Sacaton. Another lived at Akchin six miles away.)

Living arrangements: Separate house and shared meals as with A 1
Land: D 1 came from Santa Rosa (5 miles away) where he had land but he had left it to live with his wife's uncles who had more. But he still panted his field at Santa Rosa and visited it occasionally. His younger sister's daughter, had married at Santa Rosa and her husband had made a new field where D 1 sometimes planted. When D 1 died, his sons left the Willows to the other families and went to their sister at Sacaton, then a widow. They used her land until her sons grew up, then returned to The Willows, broke new land and planted.
Work Sharing: D 1 worked the Willows land with the men of the other families keeping the produce in common.
Gifts: D 1, the youngest of the group, was a hunter. When he killed a deer, he sent word to his daughter in Santa Rosa and younger sister's daughter in Akchin, who came to help butcher and cook. They feasted with the rest of the family and each took home a large piece. This family sent out everything they had cooked for a meal and ate the return gifts. At harvest they sent for the daughters at Akchin and Sacaton, and the niece of D 1 at Santa Rosa bidding them help themselves.

7. Group at Imîkah, [(Field of) the Relatives,] about 1870 (informant 41)

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621 This group contained only three families, two brothers and a sister. Their father had moved from Hikiwanyi a few miles away and broken new land. The two brothers had always used it and the sister, when she lost her husband, returned there. In the dry

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

season, they went to Red Well, where they met other paternal kin but the three families camped close and kept their gift exchange circle as before. The informant, in this case, would not use the names of the dead.

House A

1 head
2 wife of A 1
3 s
4 s
5 d
6 d
(One son had married a woman at White Clay and lived with his father-in-law who had no man in the family)

House B

1 head
2 widow of B 1, si of A 1
3 d
4
5

Living arrangements: The two houses were the equivalents of rooms in a large dwelling; the families cooking and eating together under a large shade. As between the two older women "there was no particular head."

Land: The fields were new, having been first broken by the father of A 1. They were divided between A 1 and his brother and the produce kept separate. No separate land was given to B 2. She was part of the family of A 1.

Work sharing: A 1 and his brother, C 1, sometimes worked the fields as a unit, sometimes each worked his own, the one who finished soonest helping the other.

Gifts: Dishes of food were sent between this family and House C at their meals, twice a day. The married son, living with his wife's people, was invited to come at harvest and help himself. A brother of A 2 living at a distance was invited in the same way to stay through harvest and took home a large storage basket (three feet high) full. The guests asked for the particular kind of produce which they lacked. They reciprocated at their own harvest with equal amounts but different produce if possible.

House C

1 head yb of A 1
2 wife of C 1
3 d with husband and children part time
4 d with husband and children part time
5 d with husband and children part time

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

592 Living arrangements: The daughters were not at home all the time but, the father having no sons, one of them was generally there with her husband.

Land: The land, having been first broken by the father of A 1, was shared between him and his brother. His sons-in-law had land of their own at Kaka, across the mountains, which they cultivated.

Work sharing: C 1, when there were no sons-in-law to help him, called on his brother's family who had two sons, but more people to feed. All worked in both fields until the work was done, but kept the produce separate.

Gifts: Cooked food was exchanged with Houses A and B at the main meal every day. At harvest the sons-in-law, whether they had helped or not, were asked to come and help themselves. They brought gifts with them from their own fields.

592 621 166 8. Households at Tecalote (Owl's Hoot) about 1890—1900 (informant 32)

This group of relatives had been migrating for several generations, about the southern part of the reservation and over the Mexican border. They had settled at Tecalote, then they went to Poso Verde (Mexico) Baboquivari, San Miguel, Vamori, leaving a few of their members at each place. One family finally returned to Tecalote and there dug a reservoir in a low spot. Their fields they planted in a wash some three miles away. Every summer, at cactus time, they joined the relatives from the above mentioned places and went into the foothills of Mexico to pick organ cactus. In the winters they worked in Mexico.

592 621 When the father of the single Tecalote family died, four of the children, two sons and two daughters used his field until the oldest son made himself a new one. The other three divided up the old field, though they worked it all together. Of the remaining two, a daughter married a man with a field at Wamori and a son acted as cowboy for the family cattle.

House A

592 1 Acting-Like-a-Girl, family head
2 "The Head Woman", osi of B 1, C 1, D 2, E 1, F 1
3 Manuel, son of A 1 and A 2
4 Salvador, son
5 Cecilia, d
6 Jose, s
7 Anton, s
8 Candelario

Land: A 2 should properly have gone to her husband's land but he was from a Mexican village where the men were day laborers

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

619 101 which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

161 101 The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona 657 between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

128 It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study; they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

361 621 On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

197 631 The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic considerations (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter V

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

621 VILLAGE and dialect group have a deeper and more personal meaning to a Papago than membership in the tribe. The village is his home, the place where he grows up and where his relatives are. In the old days, when the people migrated at least twice a year between the fields in the valleys and the wells in the hills, and new fields were frequently sought, the village was not so much a place as a particular group of people; but, now that communities are more stabilized, the *place* has also become important. Children in schools only a few miles away grow desperately homesick, and adults look forward to seeing the sun rise or set in the familiar notches of the mountains. People do move to other villages or leave the Reservation entirely, but they always want to come home.

THE VILLAGE

621 / 36 / If you drive along the highway to where you are told there is a Papago village, you are likely to see only three or four houses, though you may know that two hundred and fifty people live in this community. But when you leave the main road and investigate the wagon trails, house after house appears, and you discover that a village of fifty households may cover as much as two square miles. Though some houses cluster around the school or the church, there seems to be no nucleus for the village as a whole. There are no streets or other spatial regularities, nor is there a general pattern for the location of homes and fields; some families live in the midst of their fields, and others live at some distance from them. Closely related families may live fairly near to each other, but most households see the tops of their neighbor's houses over a hundred yards of creosote and cholla bushes. Thus Papago have privacy without fences; they like this separateness and think nothing of the distances to be walked.

461 Like the houses, the events of village life are few and far between. Quiet day follows quiet day. The people work continuously but calmly, their labors

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

punctuated by an occasional fiesta,[1] a roundup, a death, or some other important occurence. Life is slow and measured, without the rush of events and the crowded calendar of people who live close together as do the Pueblo Indians. 461

WORKING TOGETHER

Although Reservation lands belong to the tribe as a whole, the land in and around each village is thought of as belonging to that community and is apportioned by the village or district council. If a man wishes to put in a new field, he must seek the consent of the village. Conversely, if a field has not been used for five years, the village can request the "owner" to take down his fences, or the request may come to the council from another man who wishes to use the field. The field or home site which remains in use is "owned" by the user, but, if he wishes to change either, he must obtain permission. Grazing areas also are thought of as belonging to the people of the village or the district, but an individual who has developed water resources virtually has first rights to the surrounding range and can shut off other people's cattle from the water. This general picture is complicated by the fact that certain areas were scheduled for allotment to individuals thirty years ago. Though the allotments were never approved, people know what land had been scheduled for them, and others hesitate to ask for its use. 621 423

Every village is organized for co-operative undertakings. For the care of their livestock, the men elect a foreman who has proved that he knows horses and cattle. This man, probably chosen from a prominent family in the village, serves, as long as he performs his tasks to the general satisfaction of the community, without remuneration. During the big cattle roundup in October and the horse roundup in early summer (which may include a small-scale cattle roundup), the foreman "works for the people"; i.e., he has charge of all the proceedings—the day and place to start, the methods to be used, and all the activities to be carried on by the village men and boys. He is responsible for seeing that the proper brands are applied to calves and colts, a process that is carefully scrutinized by the cowboys. The foreman also decides what other co-operative work should be done to protect and improve the villagers' livestock; and when he thinks a corral should be built or a *charco* improved, he summons the men to come and help. 621 476 231

Another type of co-operative work is keeping the washes clear of brush and sandbanks, so that they will not turn out of their courses or deepen their channels, leaving established fields useless. All the men whose fields are 621 476 241

1. The fiesta, the chief religious and social event of village life, is described in the following chapter.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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watered by a wash are responsible for keeping it cleared; each must see to that portion which runs through his field.

Keeping fences in repair is also often a co-operative job. When a single fence divides the fields of two men, they share the work and expense of keeping it up; however, a fence or part of one which runs along only one man's property is his responsibility.

PLATE VIII

[312]

United States Indian Service

WORKING TOGETHER

The white man's way: paid labor. Pouring concrete for a community stock tank, a CCC project

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In Topawa there are two other community enterprises: the blacksmith shop and the village well. The shop, a corrugated metal building situated in the center of the village and well stocked with tools, was built with government funds at the request of the village, but it is the people's responsibility. Two men keep the keys, and any villager who wishes to use the shop is free to do so. The well, at which all the stock are watered when the *charco* goes dry, was also built by the government and is operated by the village. One man is responsible for running the motor and keeping up the supply of water, but each household contributes money to buy gasoline.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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young man, one of the district councilmen, is regarded as chief by the Agency but not by his own people.) Though no regular council meetings are held in these villages, the men meet informally to discuss problems when they arise. It is probably significant that all the three "strong men" of Hickiwan District are medicine men, but how much of their strength is due to fear of their supernatural power is a matter for speculation.

Papago who have disputes to be settled have considerable leeway in bringing their complaints before authority. If a man wishes, he can take his case direct to the tribal court (see chap. vii) rather than to the village chief; or the district councilman, who in some cases is a man of great influence, may be called on for a decision. In one case known to the writer the defendant was not satisfied with the tribal court's decision and so brought the matter to the village chief, then through the district councilman back to the tribal court. There were apparently no negative sanctions in the village against this procedure; a man is free to take his legal problems where he pleases.

However, in all the western villages disagreements are settled locally, and there is no recourse to the tribal council or court. Local quarrels may be noised about the district but not far beyond, as controversies are concealed or glossed over before outsiders. Owing to recent unhappy experiences (see chap. vii), the Reservation police thereafter refused to go to Hickiwan District. The people are well content with this situation, for they are determined to keep the management of their affairs in their own hands.

Throughout the Reservation, matters which require local co-operation and leadership are handled without friction. Leaders, elected or otherwise, are respected by the people because of their position. Their decisions and those of the council are accepted when the people feel that such decisions are based on a thorough knowledge of the recognized way of doing things and are made after discussion and expression of "what all the people think." Papago know that they are free to express disagreement, but usually would rather accept a decision with which they are not entirely in accord than to stand out from the crowd and make "people talk."

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Some present-day Papago villages are in the same locations as they were in Kino's time, and others are offshoots of these old villages, probably dating from the cessation of pressure from the Apache. Ties between the parent-village and those formed from it remain close. People visit back and forth, they co-operate in roundups, and they are sure to attend one another's fiestas, but the degree of interaction is determined by blood ties and proximity.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

621 571 There is also intercourse between unrelated villages. For example, not every settlement has a store, and the most convenient place to buy supplies may not be in a related village. Nowadays there is intervillage political activity chiefly in the eastern districts.

DIALECT GROUPS

197 571 634 Next to the family and village, the most important social entity to a Papago is his dialect group. The nine districts into which the main Reservation was divided in 1935 are political units, and, though they coincide somewhat with the areas occupied by dialect groups, they are still too new and too little a part of the Papago pattern to command loyalty. One's dialect group, on the other hand, is made up of relatives, relatives of relatives, or at least of people having one's own colloquialisms, pronunciation, and traditions. Papago are always interested in talking about the groups and the real and fancied differences between them, many of which are accounted for in ancient legend. But the considerable interchange of teasing indicates deeper cleavage, as each Papago feels his own group to be "the" people.

There are probably six main dialect groups on the Reservation today, plus several mixed groups in areas where main dialect groups adjoin. Certain of these dialect groups may well be the modern descendants of the Piman divisions Father Kino called "tribes" (see chap. ii), which have migrated rather extensively since 1700. It is possible that most of the Sobaípuri and Gileños are now officially the "Pima" who live on the Gila River Reservation to the north. They speak a dialect of the Piman language which is mutually understandable with any of the Papago dialects, but "Pima" is not here considered to be one of them. (Numerous Pima have, however, intermixed with Papago on the extreme northern tip of the Reservation.)

It appears that five of the six Papago dialect groups on the Reservation today are descendants of three other "tribes" mentioned by Kino: the *ḳokololoi*[3] from the "Pima proper," the *hauhauwash* from the Soba, and the *sosoḳöwany*, *hu'hu'uhla*, and *ḳiy'ḳima* from those which were called "Papago" by Kino.

Our knowledge of these origins is speculative; furthermore, we do not have specific information about the dialect groups or their distribution, for so far no study of the dialect geography has been attempted.[4] For instance, the delineation of one of the groups (*ḳiy'ḳima*) is particularly questionable, as is the

3. *Kokololoi* is plural, *ḳoloo* is the singular. The transcription used here follows as closely as possible the alphabet devised for Papago by Dr. William Kurath, *A Brief Introduction to Papago, a Native Language of Arizona*, pp. 13–14. However, he records no *o* for Papago; where *o* is used here in Papago words, the writer (R. S.) heard it, and future, more careful work will have to determine what should be used.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

After a crop failure they prepare for a new crop with as much care as if a harvest were assured.[3]

In the Papago country, dependable sources of water and land which could be tilled were seldom found close together. The Papago adjusted themselves by a compromise between settled village life and nomadism through inter-village migration, commonly between two villages. Those of one type were reserve villages located at the foot of the mountains or in the foothills where there were sources of water that could be relied on. The other villages were out on the open plains adjacent to the fields and were farming communities temporarily occupied. In recent years, with the digging of deep wells near the latter villages, their relative importance has been reversed and the inter-village migrations have lost their seasonal character.

THE OLD HEAD OR PARENT VILLAGES

The present day Papago villages may be traced back to about twelve common centers prior to 1860. Each of these represents a tribe which, spreading from the main village or pair of villages, has established new communities. Some of these parent villages no doubt sprang from a few of the very oldest villages as Kaka, Achi (Santa Rosa), Anegam, Tecolote, and Gue Va (Quitovac).[4] The tribal areas coincide fairly well with the larger units of plains or drainage basins, imperfectly set apart by mountain ranges or groups. The parent villages with their descendant villages are as follows:

1. *Tecolote*, on the Tecolote plain, south of the Quijotoa Mountains had as its companion or reserve village, Cobabi, Sonora. A second reserve village developed at Cabota, also south of the boundary. Tecolote was a rallying point against the Apache, but now its people are scattered in a number of small communities or rancherias on the surrounding plain, such as San Rafael or Papala-vakamukik, and San Ignacio, with Molonites on the western front. The old village site is now virtually abandoned. Tecolote Indians settled Vamori, Poso Verde, San Miguel, and Indian Oasis. They also make up in part the villages of Chulik, Topowa, and Kavolik. A part of the Vamori people came from near Caborca in Sonora.

2. *Kupk* (Copeka), with its descendant villages and people, occupies the Quijotoa plain. Its companion reserve village, San Antone and Kupk itself, have shrunk to insignificance. Kupk was parent to Kavolik, Pisinemo, and Haal Muik, with their reserve village, Poso Blanco; and in recent

[3] W. J. Spillman, Extra-dry Farming (Farm Journal, March, 1928, p. 22).

[4] See also Carl Lumholtz, New Trails in Mexico (New York, 1912), pp. 355-56.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

years to the smaller villages, Comevo and Cheweeton. Southward the plain extends into Sonora and includes San Francisco (Chuo Güsh), with Hiaspak and Vapk.

3. *Gue-se* (corrupted to Kerwo or Cubo), with its descendant villages occupied the series of valleys with their north-south axes flanking the Quijotoa plain on its west side. Northward the descendant villages extend into the Poso Redonde Valley, westward over the Barajita Valley, and southward across the La Aquituni Valley or plain, with the most important villages bearing the same names. Still farther south, the plain east of Nariz Mountains includes Comoti, Arizona, and Sinunyui Poduk, Sonora, with Tatschak as its reserve village.

4. *Perigua* is the old village of the Perigua Valley. Its descendant villages are Road Runner, Emita, Toapit, with Poso Colorado, and Poso Redondo, in part, as reserve villages. These people are believed to have come originally from Kaka.

5. *Kaka*, with its emergency village, Moivaxia, south of the Sand Tank Mountains, is parent to the large village, Akchin, near Maricopa, and to Sil Mukik, near Gila Bend.

6. *Kuitak*, or Iron Pipe Village, in the lower or southern Santa Rosa Valley, was preceded by Vachk, the "Batqui" of Father Kino,[5] and is now almost extinct. It was the emergency village for Big Fields, to which it is now the most important center. It was also parent to the villages of the Cobabi Mountains and of the South Comobabi Mountains, viz., Cobabi, which is the oldest reserve village, San Luiz, Nolic, Santa Cruz, and Rincon; also to the villages at the north ends of the Baboquivera and Coyote Mountains, viz., Vafkuk (Babakuk), Coyote, Alamo, and San Piedro. Tusconcito and part of the population of Indian Oasis are also of this group. The major part of the Papago village in Tucson is from Big Fields.

7. *Santa Rosa*, whose predecessor was the older village Achi, is still an important center in the Santa Rosa Valley, but at times dwindles to several families. Its most important emergency village is Covered Wells. It is parent to the small communities to the south and east, and to the present large village, Bac, at the San Xavier mission.

8. *Akchin*, just south of Santa Rosa, had Comobabi as its reserve village. Later the other small villages of the North Comobabi Mountains sprung from it, and also Skoakonik.

[5] "Nuestro Senora de la Merced del Batqui" (Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 1683–1711: edited and annoted by Herbert Eugene Bolton, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1919, Vol. 1, p. 208).

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 260(A)]

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

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Fig. 1. Location and Intermixture of Papago villages of southern Arizona and northern Sonora.

[Facing p. 260 (B)]

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
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Sand Papago

361 9. *Anegam*, of the upper Santa Rosa and tributary valleys, is the new
621 site of the village Omik-vaxia (Salt Well). The latter was located on "the strip" withheld from the reservation in 1917. The Indians were at that time forced to move their village. With the inclusion of "the strip" into the reservation, some return movement may be expected. Copperosity (Chuopo) was the reserve village. Kukomalik was also settled by these people. Anegam is now one of the largest of all the villages.

10. *Quajote*, on the plain between the Slate and Vekol Mountains, with its reserve village, Bitter Wells, is parent to the villages northward, toward Casa Grande. Some of these people settled at Santan on the Gila River and on the Salt River, and are living among the Pima.

11. *Komalik* is the old Baboquivera Valley village. Its ancient reserve village was Comobabi, Sonora, but nearer reserve villages developed along the Baboquivera Range, the most important of which was Fresnal. They no longer trek to Comobabi, and this village together with Cobabi and the neighboring communities of the piedmont and valleys on the east side of the Sierra de Cobota, Sonora, although of independent origin, have, by virtue of geographical unity, propinquity, and the international boundary, become a distinct unit in Sonora.

221 12. The *Sand Papagos* have been the most nomadic of the Papago
361 tribes. They occupy the truly arid region west of the Ajo Mountains.
621 Rainfall diminishes toward the Gulf of California, where it averages as
[32] little as two and one-half inches a year.[6] The reservation does not extend
184 beyond the Ajo Mountains, and there is no need for it, as the region is and must remain virtually uninhabited by whites except for the former copper mining camp at Ajo. The existence of these people depended upon their knowledge of the places in mountains where there are natural water tanks, such as Tinas Altas,[7] the Tule Tanks, and the Papago Tanks. The latter is a small oasis with an abundance of shade, grass, and a little ribbon of flat fertile valley.[8] For food the Sand Papagos ran down jack rabbits in the loose sand, killed mountain sheep, mule deer, and antelope with bows and arrows, and caught muskrats. They ate lizards, and at certain seasons went to the coast to fish and to obtain salt. Only a single agricultural site has been attributed to these people, southeast of Tinajas de Emilia in Pini-

[6] Godfrey Sykes, Rainfall Investigations in Arizona and Sonora by means of Long Period Rain Gauges (Geographical Review, April, 1931, pp. 229–33).

[7] Kirk Bryan, The Papago Country, Arizona: Geologic, and Hydrologic Reconnaissance with a Guide to Desert Watering Places (U. S. Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 499, Washington, pp. 132–34).

[8] W. T. Hornaday, Camp Fires on Desert and Lava (New York, 1909), pp. 181–82, 235.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

cate. Their vegetable food was largely the camote, an edible root found in the sand dunes, together with the beans of the mesquite and the fruit of the saguaro and pitahaya cacti, for which they came as far as Quitoboquito and the lower Sonoita River.[9] A few of them even now have temporary camps, as of old, south to the Gulf.[10]

Quitovac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita and the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village, Quitoboquito. Sonoita was an attractive and favored site, as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream. The present village is composed mostly of Mexicans, numbering about 600, who crowded out the Papago. At present there are five Papago families with about sixty people at the lower end of the village.[11] Quitoboquito is a small oasis with one of the largest springs in the Papago country.[12] It never was but a small village,[13] and the population is now reduced to one half-breed family operating a cattle ranch. The spring is on the American side of the boundary line, but the fields and ranch are in Sonora.

Several small villages of Sand Papago are located around Ajo. They are a nomadic and very poor people, having small houses and a field here and there. The largest remnant of the Sand Papago is located at Dome and Blaisdell, about twenty miles east of Yuma. The population of the two villages totals about two hundred. They have fields along the Gila River and work as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railway.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SHIFTS OF PAPAGO VILLAGE SITES OR OF THEIR POPULATIONS

Several factors have contributed toward a disintegration of the older and larger villages. To begin with, a degree of concentration was a necessity for security, especially against Apache raids. As the Apache extended the range of their raiding activities over the Santa Cruz and Altar Valleys, the Papago abandoned all out-lying villages.

At this time the old village of Poso Verde, Sonora, was deserted and its people went to Comobabi, Sonora. The place became frequented by Apache bands. In 1874 the only evidences of habitation were the remains of a few bacquals and of an old adobe fort built by the Papago as a protection for their frontier village and grazing range. The "well" was described as a sort of pit or natural tank with a strong flavor of alkali, cow-manure, dead coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14]

[9] Lumholtz, pp. 330–31.

[10] A list of the former camps of the Sand Papagos is given by Lumholtz, pp. 394–97.

[11] A Papago family may include married offspring living under the same roof.

[12] Kirk Bryan, pp. 164–65.

[13] Hornaday, p. 122.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from *Papago Social Organization* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

105 lack of interest in wealth, religious structures, and
171 public works; relative unimportance of religious cere-
175 monialism and the weak development of religious leader-
ship. On the positive side, they had a highly developed
[181] native literature in myth and song recital, in folk
stories, and in formalized oratory; they were greatly
interested in social gatherings and were especially
sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social
intercourse. The reports on all these people give the
impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a
dependence upon established tradition and the old people
who understood this tradition, rather than upon individual
initiative.

171 The absence of individual aggressiveness, the
181 ease of manner, and the lack of a fully developed interest
178 in economic advancement, as this is known in white society,
persist as cultural traits among the modern groups and
account, in some measure, for their resistance to measures
and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of
"progress," and his interest in wealth as a symbol of
status and achievement.

175 The Papago, however, with their interest in
171 agriculture and in village life, had a somewhat more com-
105 plex way of life than the typical "Ranoheria" groups of
northwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and Nevada,
[62] in pre-Spanish days. The Papago village, in fact, was
usually politically autonomous and served as the next most

important social unit to the extended family which, in some other Rancheria cultures, was the largest effective social unit. Leadership, as among other desert tribes, was more through personal influence and character than vested author-i[illegible] In addition to the headman each village also had a council of elders, a village crier, a keeper of the smoke, and other village officers who were in charge of ceremonies and festivals. Papago warfare, led by men selected for their ability, was directed principally against the Apache on the east.

Perhaps the people now known as Papagos would be more accurately described as the descendents of three west to east groups whose "Rancheria" type culture became more complex toward the east where increased rainfall and surface water permitted such things as concentrated and permanent settlements, greater division of labor, and more elaborate religious ceremonies. Dr. Bernard Fontana, at any rate, has pointed out that at the time of Spanish contact there were three major "types" of Papago groups classified on the basis of subsistence and settlement patterns. (Personal Communication). These, according to Fontana, were the western centrally-based nomads, the Sand Papagos, living in an area of less than five inches of rainfall annually and located between the Gila Mountains on the west to the Ajo Mountains on the east; the central "akchin" farmers, or Papagos proper, whose winter-summer transhumance

The principal aboriginal crops were corn, beans, and squash, to which the Spanish missionaries added wheat, kidney beans, lentils, vetch, chick peas, and possibly watermelons. These new crops, however, were not grown in significant quantities until the last few generations. Wheat could be planted in February and harvested in May, and corn was regularly planted in July or August when the summer rains came; thus two grain crops a year became possible, greatly increasing the agricultural potential of the area, although it was still limited by the extreme variation and scarcity of rainfall.

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The typical family was made up of the parents, their children, and the wives and children of the sons. Such units were grouped into villages with a tendency for village members to be related through the paternal line. Like other southern and western Arizona groups, the family was the important economic unit, with each family responsible for its own subsistence.

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Religious practices were centered around the recurring events of the annual economic cycle interspersed by many curing and other personal crisis ceremonies. The regular annual round of ceremonies included as its most important events a rain ceremony in early summer, after the gathering of the fruit of the giant cactus, at which the fermented juice of the fruit was drunk, and a deer dance in the autumn or early winter when the people had moved into their mountain localities from the summer field villages.

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103 Further research, however, has reduced this number of villages
361 to 37, with nine of these classified as major villages, under
621 the definit ons given below.

Village: A village represents community life. It is a settlement of five or more separate family co-residence units whose members frequently meet. A village has a church, a feast house or a school, and is visited regularly by outside service personnel. Members of villages live in the location for at least six months of the year. At times, therefore, a village may be vacant.

Major Village: A major village, by definition, may never be vacant. At least twenty separate family co-residence groups live at such a settlement longer than six months of the year. In addition, a major village is visited by a variety of service personnel including priests, peddlers, agency workers and Public Health employees.

Papago villages and major villages (indicated by **) are listed below:

Baboquivari

Ali Chukson ** (With Ali Monila and Artesa)
Komelik
Supai Oidak (Cold Fields)
Topawa **

Chukut Kuk

San Miguel
Vamori

Gu Achi

Ko Vaya
Quijotoa ** (With Covered Wells and Naish Vaya)
San Serafin (Gu Achi)
Santa Rosa **

Gu Vo

Ali Chuk (Manager's Dam)
Gu Vo ** (Kerwo)

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Hickiwan

Hickiwan (With Stom Pitk)
Hotason Vo (Charco 27)
Kaka
Schuchuli (Gunsight)
Vaya Chin
Ventana

Pisinimo

Pisinimo **
Santa Cruz
Tahak Hotonok (San Simon or Tracy's)

Sells

Cowlic
Gu Oidak ** (Big Fields)
Nolia (Nolic)
San Luis
Sells **

Schuk Toak

Chiawuli Tak (Fresnal Village)
Havana Nakya (Crow Hange)
Pan Tak (Coyote Sits)
Sil Nakya (Saddle Hange)
Viopuli (San Pedro)

Sif Oidak

Anegam
Chuichu **
Gu Komelik
Pohatk
Viava Vo

Reservation Centers. Sells and Santa Rosa are by far the most important villages. Located at Sells is the tribal government, agency offices and supply buildings of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a Public Health Service hospital, along with seven commercial establishments. It is the Papago "capital", the center of all tribal political activities and a great deal of the economic activities

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[62] [20] on the reservation. Indian residents of Sells on the whole, seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders of the reservation.

Surprisingly, there is no real community organi- [166] zation. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature of Sells with residents having moved there from all parts [571] of the reservation. The organizations which do exist revolve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

Residents of Sells have garden plots and some are [434] [463] cattle growers, but their main source of income is from sala- [464] ries and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago Tribe.

Santa Rosa is not as large as Sells, nor does it [368] have many of its characteristics. There is a community building, a government school, a government health center, a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The community building is used for meetings which are held to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There [575] are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

[634] The Ou Aohi District Council meets in the community building and all political activity of the district is [178] centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important. 178 361 433 [464]

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts. 178 621 628

Babocuivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Babocuivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers 634 621 628 368 [666] [797] [796]

634 Ceremonial activities and Traditional folk medicine Native Centers
621 around Supai Oidak (Cold Fields), probably the most internally
628 cohesive village in the district. The outside orientation of
368 villagers in this district is towards Sells. The southern-
[178] most village in the district, Choulic, contains three or four families who are oriented toward activities in San Miguel of Chukut Kuk district.

Chukut Kuk District. This district shares its southern border with Mexico and traditionally the orientation of its villagers has been in that direction. Today, however, they join with villagers in Baboquivari District in sending their children either to Sells to the public school, or to Topawa to the Catholic Mission School. Villagers vote in
[166] Vamori and shop in Sells or Tucson. Many of the villagers in San Miguel, Vamori and the settlement of Tecolote have temporary homes in these villages and thus spend most of their time living in Sells where they work for wages. Oftentimes the "temporary" residence in Sells is in fact the "permanent" one.

Gu Achi District. Santa Rosa is the dominant town and provides medical and commerical services to residents throughout the area. It is also the seat of political activity of the district.

Gu Vo District. People in this district send their
[366] children to Gu Vo school. They commonly do their shopping in one of three places, either in Pisinimo, at the "Y" Store near Ajo, or in Ajo proper. Almost twenty per cent of the

Almost Twenty Per cent of the 634
wage work carried on by men of Gu Vo is in the mines of Ajo. 621
Medical services are sought in Sells or Ajo. Folk medicine 628
is sought in the village of Ali Chuk (Manager's Dam). This 368
village also has a reputation throughout the district as [464]
being a ceremonial center. Ali Chuk, with its irrigation, is [316]
quite autonomous and is oriented toward Mexico. Priests,
residing in Pisinimo, make regular visits to both Gu Vo and
Ali Chuk villages.

Hickiwan District. The villagers of Kaka, Ventana and Vaya Chin commonly associate. (They have the only cattle association in the district). Vaya Chin contains a BIA school wher children from throughout the district attend. People at "this end" use the telephones in either Ventana [365]
(at Joe Thomas' house) or at the BIA school. They frequently [366]
shop, however, at the general store in Santa Rosa. Medical needs are cared for also at Santa Rosa clinic or by the medicine man in Vaya Chin.

The villagers of Hotason Vo (Charco #27), and Schuchuli (Gunsight) participate in political and ceremonial activities with Hickiwan. They commonly go to Covered Wells or to the "Y" near Ajo to shop.

Pisinimo District. Villagers of this district have a great many of the educational, political and commercial needs taken care of by the village of Pisinimo itself. The trader at San Simon (Wahak Hotonok) provides a "pick-up" [366]
store for d' trict residents who work in Sells. Pisinimo has

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a store, a school, and a resident priest. In addition it is the voting place for the district.

Schuk Toak District. Here there is no dominant village. People living in Sil Nakya (Saddle Hanging) send their children to Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) or to Sells to school. They have their fields, however, outside the distri at Gu Achi. They also have close relatives living at Comobai during the colder seasons. Comobabi is vacant part of the year. One family in Sil Nakya gets a regular income from wa work done at Kitt Peak. People here commonly go to Sells for medical services, but two medicine men take care of those wh want more traditional services. Havana Nakya (Crow Hanging) and Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) are closely associated. Perhaps the foremost medicine man on the reservation lives in Havana Nakya. People in this district shop in Sells; their political center as well as their educational center is Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) — a non-village location. San Pedro (Viopuli) and Pan Tak (Coyote Site) have trophies from the same medicine basket. People in the two villages are closely related and they cooperate during fiestas. Chiawuli Tak (Fresnal Village), however, is quite by itself. It seems to be a "bedroom community" for people who work at Sells, yet one section of Fresnal Village is very traditional in respect to subsistence farming, beliefs, and house type.

In summary, Schuk Toak district is represented by relatively autonomous settlements. Those near the Tucson-Sells highway (San Pedro,

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themselves to that village. At the most, there are ten co-resident groups but information revealed in interviews shows us that seldom, if ever, do these ten groups identify with each other as separate and distinct from San Miguel or any other village mentioned.

Chukut Kuk (Tecolote)(Chukut Kuk District). This settlement too has no public building. There were only three co-resident groups living here and each had an outside orientation to either Selle or Ajo.

Pia Oik (Gu Vo District). This settlement had but three co-resident groups at the time of observation and but two abandoned houses to receive any more residents. There is a church, but it is in the fenced compound of Lewis Manuel and is more a family church than a community one. No priest visits this location regularly.

Chuwut Murk (Pisinimo District). This settlement
[166] is barely accessible in August. Informants report that everyone moves to Pisinimo during the school year so that their children may attend. There is a church, but no priest visits it regularly.

Comobabi and Schuchk (Schuk Toak District).
[592] Comobabi has only one household of permanent residents, two
[166] old spinsters. There are, however, fifteen houses here in good condition and at least six to eight of these are inhabited seasonally. This village is best classified as seasonally "vacant".

Schuchk contains but three permanent co-resident groups. There are no churches. During the school year the cook and maintenance man live here. There is a telephone for general use of the district, and, there is a permanently residing pair of Anglo families. Thus, with its phone, its school, its central location for the district council, Schuchk may be classified as a service center but not a village. 621 361 [365] [62]

Tat Komoli (Jackrabbit) and Shopishk (Sif Oidak District). According to two informants living in Gu Komelik, Tat Momoli contains but three families. There is a church, but no feast house. The entry road is in very poor condition and the Catholic priest seldom visits the village.

Only two people live in Shopishk according to one informant. There is no church and few people visit this place. Nevertheless, a woman lives here who is somewhat famous for her pottery. [323]

In addition to the above settlements, there are about 100 locations which are occupied either permanently or temporarily for a wide variety of purposes. In most instances, they are used by people engaged in stock raising, or in a combination of stock raising and farming who must live more or less permanently near their holdings. It must be recalled that the main Papago Reservation is an area of 4,126 square miles with relatively few miles of improved roads. Some other localities are used temporarily or 361 221 [233] [241]

that the difference between 5,313 and the 1959 population 161
of 11,775 represents an absolute increase in population. This is approximately two per cent a year, well within normal expectation. The important point is that the Papago [167] have not attempted to maintain an increasing population on the same land base but are moving off the reservation at a rate about equal to, or exceeding, the rate of natural increase.

The Clotts survey contains other interesting data 162 621 on Papago settlements. Clotts listed, in his description of settlements, wells, fields, and so on, the population of 52 locations (see Map 5). Of these only 19 had a population of 100 or more, the largest being Topawa (500), Santa Rosa (400), San Miguel (325), Gu Oidak (Big Fields) (250), and Anegam (200). The care with which Clotts appears to have made his estimates, and his systematic recording of many details at each location visited, justifies the placing of considerable confidence in these estimates. [127]

A comparison of populations by district on the 162 main reservation is given in Table 3. 634

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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Table 5. Residence of The Reservation Population by Sex

Residence	Total Number	Total %	Male	Female
ON RESERVATION				
Total	4,789**		2391	2398
Baboquivari	562	11.74	292	270
Ali Chukson	153		84	69
Komelik	47		20	27
Supi Oidak	31		18	13
Topawa	224		115	109
Other Places	107		55	52
Chukut Kuk	214	4.50	114	100
San Miguel	76		46	30
Vamori	65		38	27
Other Places	73		30	43
Gu Achi	531	11.09	245	286
Gu Achi	264		116	148
Ko Vaya	52		23	29
Quijotoa	50		13	37
San Serafin	32		15	17
Other Places	133		78	55
Gu Vo	230	4.80	129	101
Gu Vo	135		79	56
Ali Chuk	80		38	42
Other Places	15		12	3
Kiokiwan	346	7.22	179	167
Kiokiwan	127		74	53
Hotason Vo	39		18	21
Kaka	65		28	37
Schuchuli	29		12	17
Vaya Chin	12		5	7
Ventana	58		34	24
Other Places	16		8	8

(Table 5 Continued)

Residence	Total Number	%	Male	Female
Pisinimo	330	6.89	150	180
Kom Vo	52		23	29
Pisinimo	136		59	77
Wahak Hotonok	56		25	31
Other Places	86		43	43
Schuk Toak	370	7.73	187	183
Chiawuli Tak	56		27	29
Comobabi	99		55	44
Havana Nakya	64		35	29
Pan Tak	56		19	37
Schuchk	13		8	5
Sil Nakya	51		27	24
Viopuli	25		13	12
Other Places	6		3	3
Sells	1,026	21.42	503	523
Cowlic	91		43	48
Gu Oidak	213		111	102
Sells	657		315	342
Other Places	65		34	31
Sif Oidak	552	11.52	286	266
Anegam	157		83	74
Chuichu	227		116	111
Gu Komelik	14		7	7
Kohatk	50		26	24
Viava Vo	66		32	34
Other Places	38		22	16
San Xavier	454	9.48	235	219
Gila Bend	174	3.63	71	103

** Five individuals in the earlier count have been removed.

464 484 494 In Pima county, at least, Papago cotton pickers seem to have become as fully mobile as any other harvest hands. Many Desert People who have moved to Tucson or live there during picking season ride trucks or buses to the fields each morning. The drivers, usually Mexican-Americans, establish regular routes from which they pick up hands, and the Indians are just individuals in a mixed crew of Anglos, Mexican-Americans and Negros. Some Papago families living in Tucson also move into labor camps on farms.

463 621 At nearby San Xavier the Desert People can choose either method of working. Those moving out to live in labor camps are generally irrigators and farm handy men who live away from their community most of the time, returning for religious celebrations and visits. Part-time laborers picking cotton usually take an uncomfortable ride to their jobs every day in canvas-covered flat bed trucks that usually have rough benches to sit on. At least one San Xavier man has escaped the bottom of the economic scale by hauling other Papagos to work in his truck even as other contractors.

184 Fewer Papagos ride to work each morning in Pinal county. The proportion of the total picking force hauled from the towns each day is also much smaller than in Pima county. The trading centers do not afford the labor reservoir available in big-city Tucson, nor the housing for migrant workers found in that city. So the 361 greatest part of the harvest labor is housed in camps on cotton farms, and many of the hands hauled from the towns live in what are no more than labor camps thrown up in the trading centers.

464 361 Despite increasing importance of mobile labor that is more efficient in that it can be put to work where most needed, most cotton farmers rely still on pickers living in their own labor camps on their farms. Four-fifths of the cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties have these camps.[1] A few farmers operated more than one labor camp in 1950--1 farm of every 9 or so has been afflicted with two camps or more.[2] Some farmers built

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[1] 26 farmers of 34 giving data, 76.5%, in Pima county had camps. 46 of 57 giving data, 80.7%, in Pinal had them.

[2] 72 farms with camps had 82, averaging 1.139 per farm.
46 farms with camps in Pima county had 50 camps.
26 farms with camps in Pinal county had 32 camps.

362 At dusk when breezes are still and hundreds of
361 trucks and cars have returned from the fields to labor camps, stirring up dirt roads, a choking dust pall rises all over the cotton growing valleys. The picker gets his last view of the distant mountains each night through this low hanging dust cloud.

[312] Probably because of the permanent water shortage in both counties, none of the cotton farmers has been fit to plant cover crops on his labor camp grounds. Nor have any farmers been concerned enough over dust problems to oil either section line roads or camp grounds.

SOCIAL CONTROLS IN LABOR CAMPS

466 Apparently the main desire of many cotton farmers
361 is to have as little to do with their labor camps as
364 possible. This is reflected in the generally messy appearance of the uncared-for grounds in unsupervised camps. It is a rare camp without cotton or tin cans or paper or garbage or all four scattered about.

186 However, lack of supervision is not the only reason
361 southern Arizona labor camp grounds are generally messy
364 looking and not very hygienic. One primary reason for dirty camps is their very nature. Their population is temporary and transient, without any sentimental ties to or pride in the camps. As a result, laborers simply do not care about the appearance of camps, and do not bother to keep them clean. It is interesting to note the exceptional labor camps in the region where workers are employed on a year-round basis, and have time to form some attachment to the camp. Even if these year-round workers must live in tents, they make some attempt to beautify the camp grounds. They try to grow a patch of lawn, or a few straggling castor bean plants, or a rose or some iris—and they keep the grounds around their dwellings neat and clean. An urge to grow something seems especially strong among the Desert People and the Mexican-Americans.

● 621 Besides this factor of length of residence in labor
361 camps, there is another aspect of social organization in-
364 volved in so many camps being dirty—with operators having a difficult time coercing residents into cleaning them up. This is the fact there is no real social organization extending through the whole camp. The laborers are a miscellaneous lot generally hired as they come

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
364 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

364 The Desert People are extremely careful around their
464 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
626 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be litter-
[35] ed with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So administrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units with residents of a reserve town scattering to several labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction[1] in Papago community life, the fear of being talked about, loses its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other races does not produce action by the Desert People that talk in their home community would. The same is true of other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
626 resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls, resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling,
178 women going to work from different cabins each morning, etc.

364 Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

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Again the key to the puzzle lies in lack of social sanctions in the Papago group in the camp. The Desert People come from several hamlets on their reserves to any camp, usually. There is no community leader nor community sanctions to motivate them. The "chief" turns out to be merely the patriarch leading one large extended family. Among this group of his own kin, he receives considerable respect, but carries less authority than many Anglo patriarchs. Among unrelated families, even those from his own village, he has none. This camp operators do not realize, having assumed that a Papago patriarch conforms to their concept of an Indian chief. (This mistake has been made repeatedly in U. S. history by Anglos who insisted upon projecting the concept of "chief" derived from Anglo-Saxon protohistory into American Indian society where it was not and is not true.)

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The heterogeneous group of Papagos in a camp no more ecnstitute a socially integrated group with recognized and effective social sanctions than the racially heterogeneous residents of a miscellaneous camp. While they do not like being talked about by other Desert People, they do not act to forestall such talk as they would to keep their relatives and neighbors at home from talking. So camp grounds accumulate trash.

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In labor camps the Desert People are also away from home in mental attitude as much as in physical being. They feel themselves in a white man's world, where they should act as white men--and they see an example of uncleanly whites in labor camps as a pattern. They cannot act better than they are taught. They cannot act according to standards in the minds of cotton growers or city newspaper reporters which are invisible--they can learn only what they can copy from sight. This fact explains why what social scientists call "acculturation" (adjustment of people of one culture to habits of another) takes place when people meet face to face. An example from history illustrates clearly. The Papago word for "cat" is copied from the old Spanish cat call rather than the Spanish name-word because the Indians saw and heard Spaniards calling their cats, and could associate call and animal. They could not learn the Spanish name for cats, which was invisible and silent in the minds of the Spaniards.